1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

245 Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes [435] like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

II.—GRAINS.

241 The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tshomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Loxar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *To*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Honma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the banks of the Chomoriri lake, but they are small and hard. The turnips at Lé and at Tamisgong are good and palatable.

III.—CULTIVATION.

All cultivable land is called *Zhing*,* and this term is also generally used for a field of any kind. Good rich land is called *Zhing-zang;* stony land is called *Ri-zhing*, that is literally, "hilly land;" and meadow land is called *Thang-zhing*, that is, "plain land." All the cultivable land in Ladák lies along the courses of the small streams, and in patches on the banks of the great rivers. In the bed of the Indus especially there are large tracts of grass-land which are never brought under cultivation, but are kept solely for the grazing of cattle.

Landlords are called *Zhing-pa* and *Zhing-dag*. The poor cultivate the lands themselves, but the wealthy employ regular labourers. The *Glapa*,† or labouring man, holds the plough (*thong* or *shól*‡), while the *Glapa-mo*, or labouring woman, breaks the clods or digs the upturned earth. The women also irrigate the fields, and cut the crops. The ploughman, *Thong-pa* or *Moba*, and the diggers, *Ko-pápo* and *Kopámo*,§ are usually paid by the month (*da-phok*‖). Yáks are employed in drawing the plough, which is of wood, the share being only tipped with iron; but many of the fields are dug by the hand with a peculiarly-shaped mattock, *ko-byed*,¶ of which

* *Zhing*, arable land; *Zhing-bZang*, rich land; *Ri-Zhing*, hilly land; *Thang-Zing*, plain land.

† *Gla-pa*, a labouring woman is called *Gla-pa-mo*.

‡ *Thong* or *Shol*, or sometimes *Thong-shol*.

§ *Thong-pa* or *rMo-ba*, a ploughman. The diggers are *rKo-pa-po* and *rKo-pa-mo*.

‖ *Zla-Phogs*, pronounced *Da-Phok*, "monthly pay."

¶ *rKo-byed*, called also *Tog-tse*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lúd*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

England, I should estimate the khál of land at about one-third of an English acre, or even more.

The seed is sown in May, and the crops are cut in September, before the first fall of snow. On the 16th of September, 1846, on the bank of the Tshomoriri lake, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, I found the Lamas of the Korzo Gonpa (monastery) cutting a field of unripe barley. The sky was very cloudy and threatening, especially to the southward, and the poor Lamas expected snow, which, if it fell upon the standing crop, would, they said, destroy it. The crop was all cut by the evening, and removed, and the next day it snowed without intermission for twenty-four hours. The crops are either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a *zorpa*, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it is generally spread out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it is loosely bound in sheaves.* The return varies according to the quality of the soil and the quantity of manure. In Drás, Moorcroft heard that it was "about twenty for one;" but according to my informants, the best lands in Ladák Proper, at Sabu, near Lé, and at Sakté, in the Chimra valley, do not yield more than ten-fold; while the poorer lands give a return of only five or six-fold, or on an average eight-fold. But the richer lands, in the Suru valley, and on the Waká and Drás rivers, which enjoy a milder climate and a moister atmosphere, generally yield from ten to fifteen-fold. The average return for the whole of Ladák may therefore be estimated at about ten-fold, or perhaps less.

Two ears of bearded barley from Lé gave a return of

* A sheaf is called *Chhun-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetan AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June.

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 [435] rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a. (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house. 439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only $7\frac{3}{4}$ chittaks ($15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers annually, equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the neck of a pillar in the largest room of his house. At Gya, I was told that the first cuttings were thus dedicated on the occasion of every harvest. Moorcroft* was informed that it was the custom "to consecrate the two or three first handfuls of each year's crop to a spirit who presides over agriculture." The necks of pillars would appear to have been the usual in-door place for the deposit of votive offerings of every kind; for Captain Turner,† when leaving *Tashi-Lhunpo*, bound a white scarf round the capitals of each of the four columns of the apartment which he occupied. He did this "in conformity with the custom of those regions." At Lé, Moorcroft saw ears of wheat: at Gya, Bazgo, and Sáspul, I noticed only ears of barley. Perhaps different places may have different customs, as wheat is used in England and barley in India for the same purpose; but as no wheat is grown at Gya, the use of barley was there a matter of necessity. In India, the first cuttings of barley (*arwan*) are brought home to be eaten by the family, and presented to the houshold gods and Brahmins. The grain is mixed with milk and sugar, and tasted seven times by each member of the family. The festivity of the season is proverbial.‡

Phula, phula, kyun phiré? Ghar Arwan áya.
Jhuka, jhuka, kyun phiré? Piyáda áya.

Why so very, very glad?
Because it's harvest-home.
Why so very, very sad?
The collector 's come.

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* Travels, I. p. 318. † Turner's Tibet, p. 329.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's Glossary. Every page of this valuable work teems with most interesting information regarding the history of India, and the manners and customs of its people.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In Devonshire, the "neck" consists of the finest ears of wheat, which are selected and tied up in a small sheaf by some old man, who stands in the midst of the reapers holding the "neck" with both hands. It is possible that the name may be derived from the sheaf having once been carried home and fastened round the neck of a pillar or wooden post, as in Ladák.

In Scotland, the farmers have a custom similar to one which prevails amongst the Botis of Spiti, Hangorang, and Kanáwar. The Scotch farmer weaves the first-cut corn into a threefold plait, which he places over his chimney-piece until the next harvest. The Boti peasant fixes three or more ears of barley outside his own door, and makes a votive offering of three or five, or some odd number of ears to his native divinity in the village *Thákúrdwára*.*

All these various customs would seem to have a common origin in the celebration of the harvest season, which in every country has been a time of rejoicing. The *adwan* and *juri* of the Hindus and the harvest-home of the English are similar to the private *ambarvalia* of the Romans. So also the votive offerings of the Tibetans were consecrated for the same object as the *lustratio* of the Romans. The former offered his first cuttings of corn with a prayer for a plentiful harvest, the latter performed their lustrations (ambarvalia) immediately before the sickle was put to the corn, to obtain the blessing of the gods on the fields which were thus lustrated.

* Gerard's Kanáwar, p. 98, and Capt. J. D. Cunningham's Notes on Moorcroft and Gerard, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 246.

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[2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

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General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

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ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

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[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khíoo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season invite all members of the family to assemble at his house for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the centre, and into it butter is poured. 796 592

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am indebted for the above account, that this exactly corresponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding. 171 796

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the idea of light which again is closely connected with the idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of merriment. 796 [243]

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning to ripen. It is celebrated in every village. [241]

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a matter of fact, observed by the people of the country, only once a year, when a great festival takes place at Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June. On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is crowded with people who have come from all parts of Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils" dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely handsome. 796 536

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

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536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

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787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

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601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN--góboo.

778 FLAGSTAFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

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231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [439] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 4r3 443 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the 114 762 same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p.203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

● 241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241 ●

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

WT Jiksten-gonpo.
779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.
795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.
792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also
get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the
villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the ap-
portionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at
Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at
Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas
Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.
661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal
of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to
the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.
792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to
spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs.
The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

WT 792 795 688 once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311 LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241 LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648 LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one, but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565 WT 648 554 661 T 648 661 WT 648 439 554

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven."

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 787 273 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dzo (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way
[42] up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have
[77] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated.

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

the next day three small farmers who all had to finish with the watering of their fields in one day. 241 312

The farmer in the mountainous wastes of Ladakh and Tibet where there is little rainfall et is totally dependent upon artificial methods of irrigation, for in the summer it often does not rain for weeks, yes, even for months. For this reason water is a very valuable commodity to the mountain inhabitant, the just distribution of which he jealously watches over; also, since time immemorial strict laws regulate the construction, maintenance, and use of the communal village pipeline. Every owner of a field, depending on the size of his property, must supply one or more persons for the communal work on this pipeline, just as the length of time that he can use it is made to correspond to the size of the surface to be watered. Most water channels require considerable mending work year after year, since snow and mud avalanches often... large parts /there appears to be at least one line missing here in the original text, the preceding sentence being unfinished and the paragraph ending with the final part of another sentence:--translator/... all had to be ready with the watering in one day. /The latter is simply a repetition of the last line of the previous paragraph. --translator./ [476]

When the grain is about a span high the fields are weeded with the care with which a gardener clears his cabbage patch of weeds. When the wheat is ripened it is not mowed with the blunt /32/ sickle but is plucked out roots and all. The left hand grasps a bundle of stalks and the sickle in the right hand, which really acts more like a hook than like a cutting implement, plucks out the stalks. On the average the field holdings are very small and the harvest yield is scant in the high mountain areas, so that every inch of stalk is valuable as straw, as feed--not as litter--for the cattle. As a result the Tibetan farmer cannot afford to leave the stubbles standing. After the grain has been bound together in small sheaves and has been laid in rows on the field, in order to ripen fully after it has been gathered, it must be guarded against thieves; one of the men must "watch" among the sheaves at night; that is to say, he must sleep there, on the assumption that he will wake up at the slightest sound. 241 [412]

Among all peoples of the East threshing is done by cattle. Six to nine animals, oxen, cows, horses, and donkeys, often in variegated order, are tied together to a rope at short distances from each other. One end of the rope is fastened by a sling to a post which is planted in the middle of the circular threshing-floor. The threshing-floor is

241 out in the open and is always set up at the foot of a mountain slope at a place exposed to the wind. Its floor consists of loam that has been stamped down or else it is covered with large sheets of slate. Admidst singing, loud shouting, and blows the four-legged threshers are driven continually in a circle around the post until the grain has been trodden out by their hoofs--not in the cleanest of ways, to be sure. Then the grain is winnowed during a moderate wind, upon which occasion everybody joins in singing a not unlovely, monotonous song (las-gso, which means "incitement to work"), which is also to be heard accompanying most common labors which require bodily strain. Once the grain has [415] been cleaned by winnowing, firm sacks woven from goat or yak hairs are filled with it, and it is carried into the house. Here it is poured into the large containers constructed of slabs of slate. After the last sack has been poured out, the master of the house presses a large seal in loam with a signet carved out of wood onto the joint between the wood cover and the edge of the container. The Buddhistic hooked [789] cross (swastika) on the seal is supposed to guard the valuable crop from the hand of thieves through its magical power, and it actually does guard it because the thief is afraid of its magic. /There follow, after p. 32, two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle, "Tibetan children"; the second with "Inhabitants of Ladakh."/ /33/ The granary is in the lowest story of the house, just underneath the household temple.

868 In this way the boy, through his sharp powers of observation, became acquainted with all the activities which are connected with the cultivation of the soil in those inhospitable mountains, and gradually he gained an insight into the heavy battle which the Tibetan farmer must wage with the forces of nature. In his imagination these forces of nature turn into animated beings, spirits, gods, demons, and goblins. The boy also heard from the narratives of his parents and neighbors how man so often succumbed in this battle because, as they said, the dreadful powers were unconquerable for the ordinary human being. But the lively lad also learned early to join in the work, and with great zeal he took part in the labors in which his strength permitted him to participate, until finally he was able to perform all types of work and became an efficient Tibetan farmer.

372 Drogpa Namgyal was even more eager to climb with his father or with a relative into the mountains to gather "wood" than he was to go into the fields. At least the, called it a wood, although it was 000 often no more than small shrubs which served as fuel. It was extremely

Apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland, and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241● as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

241 462 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children. 294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather. 286 283 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 264 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ham-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast [827] is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoň-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 200

When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka. 241 787

On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh.' The following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a 241

241 circle. This cake chorten is later distributed during the feast, where it is eaten after a piece of it has been donated to the gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, Namgyal steps onto the rock terrace in front of the castle and watches as the scribe Dondrub, who has visibly recuperated from the exertions of the head procession, and who looks well nourished and flourishing, steps to the edge of the terrace. From there he calls with his peculiar stentorian voice in the direction of the town which lies at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is situated: "Sa-kha-che! The earth's door is open!" This means that the earth mother (Ama-Khon) has now opened the earth's door which was "locked" during the winter, and that the earth is now prepared to give from her lap the power that brings fertility. Then there followed [783] a warning to all those who for some reason or another had become ritually impure by touching a corpse, a newborn child, or by merely coming close to these, not to work on the irrigation ditches as soon as and so long as the fields are being irrigated from these ditches, which is now to start, not to step over any of these ditches, because otherwise the water gods (klu, Naga) and the earth spirits (sa-bdag) would be offended and enraged. The former would then hold back the water in the mountains, and the latter would, at the command of the earth mother, keep the gate of the earth locked so that the earth would hold back her productive powers.

Now the king appears with his retinue which /Following p. 144 there are two full-page illustrations, the first showing a "bride, bridegroom, (in pointed hat), the latter's parents and aunts" (subtitle); the second being a rear view of a "Ladakh woman in festive costume with turquoise-covered head ornament (perag) and coral band" (subtitle). /145/ Namgyal had also joined, and at the head of a long procession of farmers he moves to a nearby field belonging to the king. There a plow stands in readiness. The oxen, which have again been caught, are yoked to the team, the halters are fastened to the roughly-worked yoke which lies without any cushioning on the necks of the animals. The king now plows a few furrows. Often the earth is still frozen solid and the plow just slides along the hard soil scratching it just slightly. This does not matter. Even in this manner the Tibetan sees the purpose of the custom fulfilled. Five lamas sit at the edge of the field, 241 789 and during the king's plowing they read the book, "The attained blessedness of the eight-fold illumination (snaṅ-rgyad bkra-śis adzegs-pa)"; in some places they also read the book of the "Liberation from the earth

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water. 241 789

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come. ooo

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar-sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings. 241 782

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 241 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

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788

go back to the ancient Germanic processions around the fields which were held on the first Thursday (Donar's day) in March, June, and September, by the elders of the village and the district, in order to obtain a plentiful harvest blessing.

mendation of the lamas. Namgyal joined them. The lamas in the Tingmogang monastery gave out 84 books from the monastery library of the 108 books of the canon. Each of the participating men, among them also Namgyal, took three to four of these books tied together with a string, on their backs, and the carriers now circled around the entire complex of fields belonging to Kalatse; during this procession they went up the mountain, down the mountain, along steep and rocky mountain slopes and down deep into the gorge, so that even the tiniest piece of land of the size of a few square meters would share in the blessing which streamed down from the divine word upon the earth which was thus circled about.

In the early spring the ex-king in Leh, in conjunction with the Wasir, the governor of the ruling maharajah of Kashmir, called together a large number of lamas from all the many neighboring monastries to the "Great Reading." On this occasion all the 108 volumes of the canon are read through in such a manner that the loose leaves of the individual books are distributed among the lamas in the fashion already described; then each of the red-coats reads aloud through the leaves that have been placed before him as rapidly as possible. In this way volume after volume is read through without regard for continuity. The divine power of the entire word (ĉos) supposedly effects, even in this manner, the outpouring of blessing, fertility, and ripening of a plentiful harvest, peace, good fortune, and prosperity for the entire people and country.

000 Namgyal, who had once watched this Great Reading, thought that if anything, this mass appeal to the grace of the Buddhas and the gods would surely have to /147/ be effective. And yet--were there not always again crop failures, droughts, epidemics, and famine? Where were the saving powers since they did not prevent all this misery? The doings of the lamas also repelled him: this spiritless mechanical recitation of the sacred texts, the debauchery and the laxity of many of them who, after all, acted the parts of soul savers and leaders of the people, and who let themselves be called "saviour" (skyabs-mgon).

789 A soothsayer in the monastery of the "Virtuous" in Ri-rdsong had--in contrast to the others who had predicted a fruitful year--prophesied

/Following page 176/

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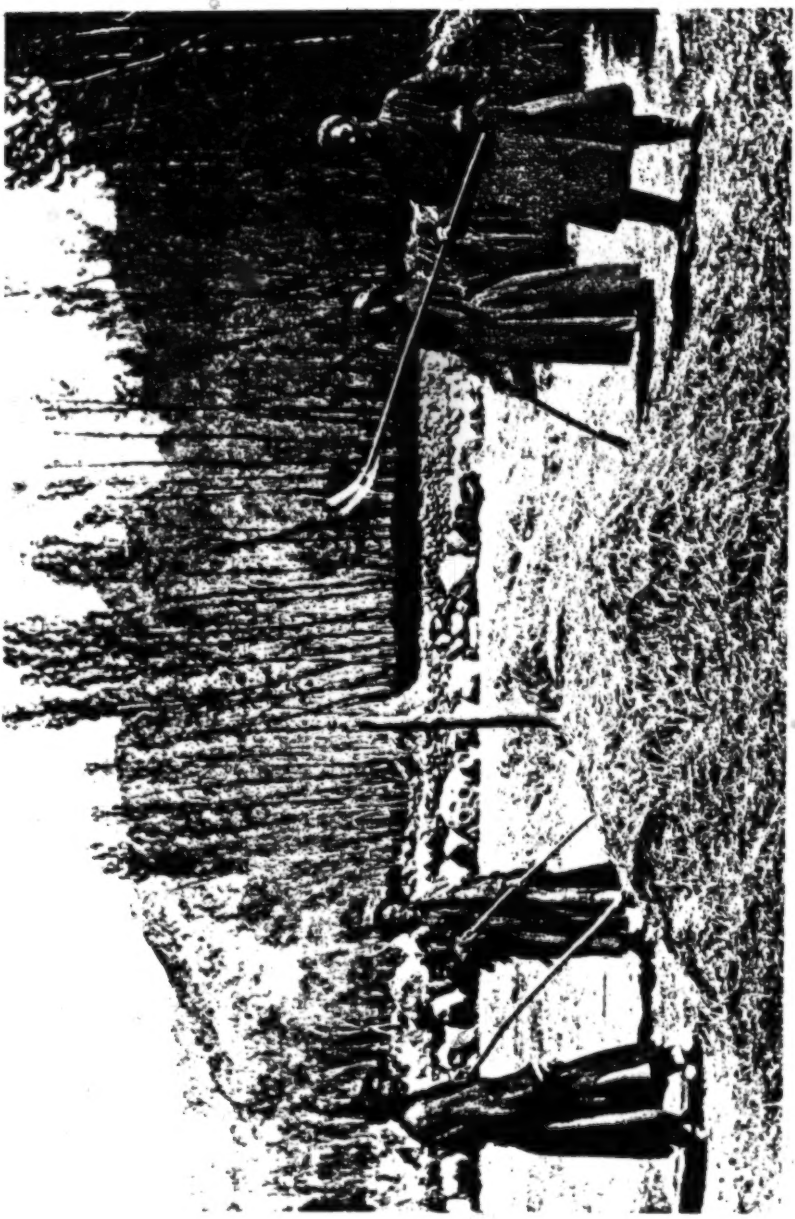

Threshing of the grain

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chàng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

* *Srog machhat, i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the land-holders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges, and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

The *lámáic* system.

[See a/so preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND ARBORICULTURE.

Chapter IV, A. Agriculture and Arboriculture.

Detail of area with reference to agriculture.

The areas of cultivation in Láhaul and Spiti as ascertained at the revision of Settlement by Mr. Lyall were respectively 3,096 and 1,184 acres. A detailed statement adapted from a return printed in Mr. Lyall's report is subjoined. Commenting, however, on the figures Mr. Lyall states his opinion that the "real cultivated area (in Spiti) is about half as much again as that shown in this return." It may, therefore, be approximately given as 1,775 acres.

Area (in acres) cultivated and barren in Láhaul and Spiti.

Subdivision.	Paying revenue to the State (*Khálsa*).		Revenue alienated or remitted (*Jágir* and *mafi*).		Total area assessed.
	Barren.	Cultivated.	Barren.	Cultivated.	
Láhaul ...	1,053,713	1,980	350,807	1,097	1,407,616
Spiti	1,242,816	1,119	...	65	1,244,000
Total ...	2,296,529	3,113	350,807	1,162	2,751,616

Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

Barley is the principal crop in both *wazíris*; a very fine description of wheat, with six tiers of grain on each ear, is also grown in Pattan in Láhaul, and from Kibbar downwards in Spiti. Major Hay puts the return on seed sown in Spiti at 14 to 1 for barley, and from 10 to 12 to 1 for wheat. Mr. Lyall's enquiries led him to think that this estimate is about right as an average. As three *khal* or *lakh* (land measure) are found to be about equal to an acre, it may be estimated that an acre produces in Spiti 42 *khal*, or 12½ maunds of barley, and 36 *khal*, or 10½ maunds of wheat; this is taking the *khal* at 12 *ser* only, which is rather less than its real capacity. In the upper villages the crops are occasionally blighted by early frosts, but on the whole the harvest must be unusually certain and invariable in amount. In Láhaul the outturn per acre must be rather less on the average, as the cloudy drizzly weather which sometimes prevails, particularly in Rangloi, must do harm. The other crops, besides wheat and barley, are peas, which are much grown in Spiti, but not in Láhaul, and buck-wheat which is common in Láhaul but very rare in Spiti. Mustard is sometimes, but rarely, grown in small quantities for oil. A little *china* is also sown in the lowest part of Spiti.*

* An excellent account of the vegetable productions of Láhaul by Dr. Aitchison was published in Vol. X of the Linnean Society's Journal.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrá* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul.

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Production and consumption of food grains.

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Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers.

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SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

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In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

A Court in Lahul

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, consider Lahulis inferior.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 migrants appear. First of all the Wagtails come (Hodgson's pied ; grey and yellow-headed), making the streams and rivulets bright with their graceful movements and undulating flight, soon to be followed by the Siberian Chiffchaff, with his monotonous " cheep, cheep, cheep, cheep," The common Redstart, too, is here now, whilst the Hoopoo calls his " Ooppoopppoopp " (the Ladaki name for him) to the farmer, giving him permission to sow his fields, unafraid of serious harm to his crops from further cold. The Cuckoo, too, makes his song heard occasionally about this time, and now one can notice the Western Blue Rock Thrush, whose coat really does look a beautiful slaty blue as he sits in the sun. Above the river, Gulls and Tern wheel and sweep, and are kept company by Swift and Martin ; on the stones by its side, the Ibisbill finds his food, whilst the royal Heron meditates solemnly by the water's edge with his neck well tucked in. So we can boast of a varied ornithology, full of interest and change.

132 We have already made so many references to climate and altitude that the reader will have gathered a fair idea of both. The extremes of the climate may be summed up in the oft-told saying that if you sit in the shade of a rock, the part of your body within the shadow freezes, while that in the sunshine boils ! The heat of summer out in the desert is intense, for the long stretches of sand and the barren glaring rocks seem both to soak up sunshine and reflect it back as it pours out of a sky which is so often cloudless. Yet in the shade of rocks and trees and in the ordinary life in and about a house, it is never oppressive, and there are few summer
● 241 evenings in Leh when an extra wrap is not needed. The
132 short summer from June to mid-September sees the ripening of the wheat, barley and lucerne crops, the coarse grained barley being the more important source of food, and growing up to altitudes of over 14,000 feet. In the lower warmer
312 villages the summer is longer, and a second crop may be
241 raised. All this cultivation is entirely kept alive by irrigation,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dependent on the melting of the winter snows, so that the stream from the Kardong which waters Leh is completely used up, and never reaches the Indus bed ; the average two inches of rain-fall is almost negligible. Although at such an altitude, the snowfall of Leh is also not severe, the snows exhausting themselves on the surrounding ranges, and it rarely exceeds two inches on the ground at a time. It seems to evaporate without any intermediate slushy stage and a sunny winter is quite pleasant owing to the dryness of the cold. It is even quite enjoyable to sit out-of-doors in the sunshine during the day time. Though the temperature may go down to minus ten degrees F. in mid-winter, and remain by day at about ten degrees below freezing point in a room without a fire, its dryness makes it much more bearable than a less cold, but damper climate, and for a similar reason the heat is much less oppressive than that in India, perspiration being hardly perceptible owing to swift evaporation. The spring, however, is heralded by bitter piercing winds, and often they raise little spiral hurricanes of dust seen chasing across the valley from afar, but woe if one of these " sand-devils " blows across your garden and catches up your verandah chairs in its wake or fills your room with dust.

The further effects of altitude and climate on the human beings, indigenous and foreign, who dwell in the land, need not be dealt with here, but when all is said, the flame of life on the whole burns brightly in this land of clear skies and bright sunshine.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

due to the fine water prayer-wheel in the village, which day and night turns round its prayers to benefit the community, while in the walls of the little shelter made to accommodate it four more rather large prayer-wheels are inserted to be worked by hand, so that the passer-by, giving them a meritorious twirl as he goes along, may add his contribution to the volume of prayer that brings favour to the village. Just now is the time of harvest in Wanla. Here the barley and wheat are cut and carried to the side of the hill to dry, a process which must soon be accomplished, for the heat from the stones is very great. In the evening a poor old man, blind in one eye arrives, and the cause being established as cataract, a temporary operating theatre is set up, instruments boiled and the trouble removed. Another poor old fellow completely blind, deaf and otherwise deformed, also asks for help, but alas, he is beyond the aid even of Western medical science, and, as he is very poor, the meagre solace of a little gift is all that can be done for him. There is hardly any operation so dramatic as that of cataract extraction, for the patient may be totally blind at one moment and the next receive his sight. It is all the more sad to have to tell some of these poor blind folk that it is impossible to give them back their vision, especially when so often that faculty might have been saved had they come to the doctor sooner.

Arrangements have now to be made for the next day's march, and we are told that the road is so bad that it will take all the Wanla horses and all the Wanla men to get us to Hunupata, the next village at which we halt ; nor is the picture overdrawn. Next morning all are busy. Breakfast is cooked and eaten, and wise is he who begins by shipping aboard plenty of food ! Stores and cooking utensils are packed into *yakdans* and *kiltas*, the Indian-made travelling boxes and baskets, one of which forms half-a-pony load, and we are off, enjoying the sheer delight of marching in the clear

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XI

Domesticities

THE homes of Ladak, with the exception of those in its metropolis, Leh, and perhaps in the small town of Kargil, in Purig, are practically all village homes. In these desert uplands a village must centre round a stream, which brings its contribution from the glaciers of the great heights—ever in the background—to one of the smaller rivers, most of which eventually flow into the Indus. Where such a stream runs through a broadening valley, it is possible to lay out a series of terraced fields, which can be irrigated in turn by directing the supply into small artificial watercourses. Indeed the turns for sharing the precious water are often the subject of much quarrelling, hoarse shouting and invective, while some less fortunate inhabitants have sometimes to stay up all night to water their fields. Above the area of cultivated terraces, and at the foot of the actual hills, where it is too rocky and steep to plough and sow, the houses are clustered, approached by stony paths or tracks, and so built into the hillside that convenient pieces of rock are often used for wall or floor, and, where the rock overhangs, even for roof, while a little sunny platform will be enclosed with a rough wall to stable the animals by day in winter. The setting of roof and balcony is always arranged to catch the maximum sunshine, so that even in the low temperatures of winter, many domestic activities can be carried on out-of-doors. Crowning the chief hill of the village, and dominating its common life, as its position would suggest, is the monastery.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Let us now consider some of the ceremonial of the religion of these cheery folk, and to do this we cannot do better than take an evening stroll to Changspa, which is a suburb of Leh and was formerly a place of pilgrimage. Our path leads us between fields of wheat and barley, now ripe for the harvest. Here our way is blocked because some *Zemindar* (farmer) is directing the flow of the water into his crops. Further on we reach a larger stream over which we cross by means of stepping stones.

We meet an old grey-head emerging from the village, who evidently feels that he has reached the age when he should be thinking of his next incarnation, for he is not only vigorously turning his prayer-wheel, but mumbling away at his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*. We stop to speak to him, for in this part of the world there is great friendliness. Our conversation by no means hinders his devotions, for he can still twirl his prayer-wheel, which with every turn is repeating hundreds of prayers for him, and in between his answers to us there are plenty of opportunities for saying his *O ma ni pa dme hum's*.

Being new to the country we perhaps try to ask him the meaning of his prayer, but generally he will reply that he has not the faintest idea, and most certainly will not give the translation one so often hears. " Oh thou jewel in the Lotus bud." If one regard the Jewel as the Divinity, and the lotus the body in which it resides, one surely approaches the teaching of the Buddha fairly closely. I have met only one or two Buddhist Ladakis willing to enlighten me in respect to this mantra, who said that the wheel of life, consists of six existences, and this mantra with its six syllables closes the door of all these, thus providing an easy vehicle to " STONGPA NID." There are other mantra, but this beyond comparison is the favourite one, as it is that of Avolakita, the Merciful Lord, and it ensures an entrance into the Kingdom of Amitabha, the Sphere of Endless Light. The wheel must be turned in the direction in which the sun travels, that is of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

240 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

The date of the Hemis festival falls in our calendar at any time between the beginning of June and the middle of July. The later it falls, the more European spectators are enabled to get over the Zogi Pass in time to see it. Hemis monastery lies in the foothills on the south side of the Indus one-and-a-half marches from Leh, and is reached by a good road on either side of the river. Crossing the latter at the cantilever bridge, some four miles below Leh, at the side of which is a pleasant little *bagh* for picknicking or camping, the road skirts the upper edge of the prolonged village of Chushod, towards the further end of which are camping grounds. Then it passes over a long bare plain to another *bagh*, a welcome oasis in the desert, whence the path turns up across the hill to the right. Hemis itself is hidden from the valley behind a spur of mountains, but the gorge in which it lies is indicated by the long *mani* walls and white *chortens* which line the approach. Rounding the corner of this spur of hills, the eye is met by the usual series of terraced fields and the end of a long belt of trees, which fills up the narrowing gorge. Behind the mountains rise in ridges of well-marked strata, backed finally by rugged upright pinnacles on which the sunlight and shade play with fantastic beauty. As the road nears the monastery each turn reveals increasing fascination of brown rugged rock and green tree, and, above all, of quaint *chorten* with red-ringed superstructure above white pudding-like base, until at last the *dGonpa* itself comes into view, a long, rather low building, with the usual goblin-like dwellings of the village climbing up the hill at the side. The belt of trees keeps on the further side of the central stream, and at the time of the festival its enclosure is dotted about with wild rose trees, pink with blossom, a strange suggestion of the English countryside in this wild land of bare mountain tops. It is in this enclosure that the *Skushog* or Abbot allows his European visitors to pitch their camps, and even provides luxurious, spacious tents of his own for the more favoured guests, who

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

FARMERS AND FARMING IN LADAKH (TIBETAN KASHMIR)

By WALTER ASBOE

AN account of the cultivation of cereals in Ladakh presupposes a climate for their growth, bearing in mind the high altitude at which these cereals can thrive. In this lofty region of 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level it is amazing that anything grows at all.

The country is one vast expanse of sandy plain and deep-cut valleys formed by colossal mountains and swift-flowing rivers. Upon the great plateaux large flocks of sheep laden with wool, borax, and salt move slowly over the tawny sand, raising clouds of dust as they proceed to the wool-clearing centre at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It is also from these elevated regions that the famous shawl wool generally known as Pashmina comes, its final destination being Kashmir. Dropping down from the arid plateaus of Rupshu to the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, you come to the many hamlets snuggling in the shelter of great cliffs and rocky eminences, forming with the arable land around them patches of vegetation resembling an oasis in the midst of a desert of rock and sand.

The climate of Ladakh is favourable to the growth of cereals and is a useful ally to the peasant living at high altitudes and subsisting on produce cultivated in ground which looks sterile and unpromising. Very little rain falls in Ladakh owing to the precipitation in the lower hills in the region of the Zogi Pass, which peters out by the time the higher altitudes are reached. The farmer has therefore to irrigate his fields artificially from rivers, mountain torrents derived from melting glaciers and the winter accumulations of snow. He is saved from the heart-breaking frustration of the English farmer, who must contend with capricious weather which so often ruins his crops just when he is ready to reap them. In Ladakh the peasant knows that the good weather of to-day will be followed by good weather to-morrow, so that he is saved much worry and extra work.

Frost and snow or sleet begin in September and continue in different districts without intermission until the beginning of May. The minimum temperature from December until February falls to −5° to −12° F., and there is no month in the year when there is not an occasional snowfall on the summits of the mountains. The intense cold of winter is mitigated by a dry atmosphere, clear skies, and a sun which warms provided that you remain in its direct rays. The average temperature in the shade during summer is about 75° to 80°. Thus the shortness of the summer is compensated for by the powerful rays of the sun, which ripen the grain rapidly.

The various meteorological processes which combine to form a climate are, as everyone knows, generated by the sun. It is therefore not sur-

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prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

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476 506 436 427 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 787 805 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 134 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

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of course to be manured, though in practice the peasant cultivates the virgin soil for two or three years before enriching it with manure.

Owing to the scarcity of wood, the dung of cattle is dried in the sun and used for fuel, so that manure for fields is at a high premium. Recourse has therefore to be made to human manure liberally mixed with earth. In many villages public latrines are constructed for the reception of this form of manure. Again, owing to the shortage of fodder, the Tibetans never lay down straw as bedding for their animals. To increase the quantity of manure they simply add layers of earth to the droppings of the cattle in the stables, and in spring they take it away in baskets or in sacks to their fields before ploughing. To supplement the poor supply of grass and straw for their sheep and goats, the farmers use the bark of willow trees by cutting the branches and letting these animals strip them. The willow is the most popular and beneficial tree in the country, for it provides both fuel for the home and fodder for the goats and the sheep. Reforestation of the willow, as also the poplar tree, requires little effort, for all that is necessary is to stick the saplings in the ground, preferably near a watercourse, and they immediately take root.

According to the dryness of the ground it is watered previously or subsequently to ploughing. The manure is carried in sacks loaded upon donkeys or in baskets carried by the women. It is then scattered over the field and ploughed into the furrows in which the seed is sown. Sometimes the seed is broadcast on the land and then ploughed in. The plant is allowed to grow to the height of five or six inches, when a light supply of water is applied at intervals of a few days until the crop is vigorous enough to tolerate a weightier supply of water conducted along the ingeniously constructed watercourses.

Many of these watercourses are two or three miles long, depending upon the distance to the source of the water supply. Their gradients, which are usually about three feet wide by one and a half feet deep, are cleverly contrived so as to prevent a great quantity of water from flowing at one spot and causing the earth banks to break. Where an almost perpendicular cliff or solid rock is encountered, the water is conducted along wood gutters hollowed out of pine trees, forming a gallery round the cliff or rocky abutments. To conserve the supply of water large or small dams are constructed, which are guarded by a party of men chosen by the village to control the supply to the fields immediately beneath it. The water supply is of such immense importance and so hard to come by that meticulous care is taken in rationing it out to the various farm holdings in the neighbourhood. Failing an adequate supply of water for irrigation purposes it is futile to attempt to plough land, for no reliance can be placed on natural rainfall, especially in Western Tibet. The village watercourses are kept in repair by the farmers whose fields receive water from them.

Ploughing is performed by a pair of oxen (dzos—a hybrid of the yak and the cow) driven by a ploughman without reins. They are guided with the utmost precision by the voice or by a willow wand. The plough is made entirely of willow wood except for the point, which is formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure is simple, inexpensive, and

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241 light. It can easily be carried upon the shoulders and is not liable to get out of order. The iron point which contacts the furrow requires to be sharpened fairly frequently by the local blacksmith.

The ground is not much more than scratched, as it is dry and sandy, the furrow being only four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle. The clods of earth are broken with mattocks by the women, and it is not unusual to see villagers dragging a large bundle of thorns across the field to act as a harrow.

The weeding of fields is general but by no means universal in the country, and the necessity of taking advantage of every available article of food for the cattle leads to a regular and effective method of weeding the corn fields. About three weeks after the first blades of corn have pushed through the earth, women and children overrun the fields every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. The stems get disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders but are never really trodden down, and they recover their erect position in a few hours after the field has been watered. Another benefit of weeding the fields is that the corn gets the full power of the soil and an access of light and air is admitted to the roots of the plants.

The cereals grown in Ladakh are barley, wheat, buckwheat, mustard seed, peas, and beans. At villages not higher than 10,000 feet above sea level it is usual to sow two crops annually. The first crop, which consists of barley, is sown on or about February 25, followed on August 25 by the sowing of a crop of buckwheat.

The order in which the various crops are sown is, first, beans, then wheat, peas, barley, mustard plant, and, lastly, buckwheat.

Barley is of two varieties, distinguished chiefly by the peculiarity of retaining or parting from the rough exterior capsule after the grain has left the ear. The first kind, called So-wa, is very much like the common barley grown in Europe. The second kind is called Shirok, of which there are five varieties—namely, (1) So Shirok, a slow or late barley; (2) Gyog Nas, quick or early barley; (3) Yangma or Yangkar, which is also early and of a whitish colour; (4) Nak Nas, black barley; (5) Drug-zur-Nas, or six-sided barley.

The husked barley has to be raised in places which are the warmest and most sheltered from the winds, and though the seeds of the Shirok can be sown in such situations the produce will be rough barley. The latter again yields naked barley at higher and colder altitudes, as in the lands round Leh (11,500 feet).

The So Shirok barley, or late barley, is sown in places where the temperature is not specially cold yet where the summer heat is not sufficient to permit the cultivation of two crops annually (one of barley and one of buckwheat).

The Gyog Nas is sown in very high altitudes (13,000 to 14,000 feet), where the days are very hot and the nights cold. It does not as a rule attain a greater height than one and a half feet.

241 252 Nas Yangma or Yangkar is cultivated everywhere and thrives in a temperate to warm climate. It is the favourite variety of barley, as its yield is good and little inferior to wheat. The porridge made from this

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241 barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely [252] nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any [262] grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

[373] The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces [258] mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

511 No matter where you go in the country you find that the people con- 426 trive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
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1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian
[173] Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

• [241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

796 to Kesar. 8. Praise of the young Kesar. 9. Kesar, the god of lightning.

In Sheh (Shel) the following five songs are sung: 1. aBru-gu-ma in search of Kesar. 2. aBru-gu-ma's message to Kesar through aBu-dmar-lam-bstan. 3. The song of victory of dPal les. 4. Praise of Kesar by the king of Hor. 5. Request from the king of Hor addressed to Kesar.

As an example I shall now present in translation the song of the "Dedication of the arrows":

On the beautiful plain there are wonderful arrow shafts,
On the beautiful plain there are magnificent arrow shafts,
The long sticks are shafts for heroes
Put such long shafts in the hands of the Agus,
Put such long shafts in the hands of his servants, the Agus,
The short sticks are spindle sticks for the noblewomen,
Put these short sticks in the hands of the divine women,
Such spindle sticks you should place in the hands of
Ane-bkur-dman-mo.

Song No. 55 of Tag-ma-cig likewise belongs in the same group of ideas. In this song the origin of the arrow is celebrated.

• [241] On the occasion of this song there are processions around the fields, in order to bless the fields for the time when they will be cultivated. The altars of the local deities (lHa-tho) are adorned with fresh twigs from the shug-pa tree and twigs from this tree are burned before the altars.

5. The harvest festival (Szub-lha). This festival may be of Dard origin, as is the entire agriculture of western Tibet. At this festival songs again play a significant part; I have four of the songs used on this occasion in my collections. One of these I had written down for me in Skyur-bu-can; where I witnessed the festival personally. The three other songs were sent to me from Shel (Sheh). These latter songs seem to me to be of a more original cast. The first of the songs from Shel speaks of an offering of great yellow flowers to the goddess lHa-chen-rdo-rje-chen-mo, to whom, at the end of the song, the following brief prayer is addressed:

Purify us of all stains of the body!
Fulfill all the wishes of the mind!

Who this unfamiliar goddess is becomes clear in the second of the songs. The second song describes in brief the genesis of the world from the ocean and the seeding of the world. This description concludes with an invocation of lHa-mo-abrug-mo, the goddess aBru-gu-ma. In the Kesar sagas it also happens that the form aBrug-mo, which resembles the word aBrug, meaning "thunder" or

782 771 609 **SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev.*

97 Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 173 [74] Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

● [241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 114 The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

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AGRICULTURAL METHODS IN LAHOUL, WES

90 The peasants in Western Tibet are in the main agriculturalists, though on the high plateaus of that country (14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea level), there are to be found large tribes of nomads who follow a purely pastoral occupation.

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Whilst both men and women engage in field work, it is the latter sex upon whom the burden of farming really rests. The share of agricultural pursuits which falls to the male sex consists of building walls and repairing them, sowing, ploughing, repairing watercourses, building corn stacks, and assisting at the threshing operations.

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The women on the other hand are so fully employed in the running of the farms that they have little leisure for pilgrimages to sacred

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shrines, or visits to far distant relations. The men folk in Lahoul occupy their time during the summer months in wool trading, and travelling hither and thither with merchandise.

The farm duties of the female sex are the carrying and spreading of manure on the fields in spring and autumn, harrowing or beating the clods of earth in the wake of the ploughmen, making ridges in parallel or oblique lines over the fields to render irrigation easier, placing stones, sticking stones in the ground vertically for diverting the water during the process of watering, weeding, once, when the first blades of barley or wheat appear above the ground, and again, when the ears have formed, and it is easy to pluck out the long weeds with the hands.

Irrigation, reaping, threshing, winnowing and carrying in of the crops are performed by the women, with occasional help from the men when such are available.

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In Lahoul, where the snowfall in winter is heavy, the time for beginning agricultural operations varies slightly each year, though the middle of April is usually the time when farm work is contemplated.

The various occupations of the agriculturalist

221 TERN TIBET. *By Walter Asboe.*

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 286 From December until spring farming pursuits cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 425 Lahoul being under British administration, the acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 787 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

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241 787 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 685 691 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as landmarks to distinguish between the various farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

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Regulation of Water Supply.

312 624 An adequate supply of water from rivers, glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water supply). In cases where there is a communal reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

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Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

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country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

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A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

Method of Sowing.

241 The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

Letting Land.

427 It often happens that a farmer will let his land 241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

Rusta (*Inula Helenium*).

249 Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

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476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
621 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 ● 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

12. (*a*) ལադྭགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་མོས་དང་མཉམ་པོ་འབྲུག་སྡིར་ན།
མདོ་ཤག་ཡིད་ཁ་སྟོན་ཐོག་ཐོབ་འདུག།

(*b*) Ladag'skyi zhing'shmos dang nyam'po drug' ldir'na,
do'sha gil'idla ston'thog thob'dug.

(*c*) When at the time of ploughing in Ladakh the thunder sounds, they receive a harvest in *dosha* [lower Ladak] and Gilgit.

(*d*) Peasant's calendar. Lower Ladak and Gilgit have an earlier harvest than Leh.

(*e*) *Ldirces* is the Ladakhi for *adirba*. In this Proverb the Genitive in *kyi* is pronounced in full. The ordinary Ladaki Genitive has a simple *i*.

13. (*a*) ཡུན་རིང་ན་བ་རོས་ལྡོང་པོ་ཆོད།

(*b*) yŭnring'na ja'ros ldong'bo chod'.

(*c*) After a long time a dead bird [which is blown by the wind against the trunk of a tree] cuts the trunk.

(*d*) With perseverance great things can be done.

(*e*) *Ldongbo* = *sdongbo*.

14. (*a*) སྒང་ལྷས་ཀྱི་ཡང་མལ་ནུ་ནུ།
དཔེ་ཐུག་གི་སོ་སྐོབ་ཡང་འབུད།།

(*b*) gang'lessi yang'mala lta'lta.
spid'thuggi sor'gob yang bud'.

(*c*) Whilst looking at the good barley of Gangles (a village) the rough straw of Spithŭg is lost.

(*d*) See 8 (*d*).

(*e*) About *ltalta*, see 8 (*e*).

15. (*a*) བྱ་ཚང་མ་བྱ་ཡུལ་ལ་སོང་།
བྱ་དན་འུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཙེ་ཤུལ་མཐུག་ལ་ལུས།།

(*b*) ja'thsang'ma ja'yulla song'
jangan' ututu'tse shul'juglalus'.

(*c*) All birds have gone to birdland.
The bad [stupid] bird hoopoe has remained to the last.

(*d*) When a bad thing has been done by several, all who can, disappear, the one who remains, is punished for all.

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neighbouring Chamba, eventually to join up with the Indus basin in the plains. The valleys formed by the Chandra and the Bhaga constitute the inhabited part of Lahul, as does also the valley of their united Chandra-Bhaga course. Running towards the north, and springing also from the Baralacha pass, from a lake between the sources of the two other rivers, is the Yunan river, which joins up with the Tsarab Chu (*Ch'hu*, "water", "river" in Tibetan) in Spiti.

This hydrographic system of the Chandra-Bhaga or upper Chenab, which constitutes Lahul, is bordered to the north by Zangskar in Kashmir, to the east by Spiti, to the south by Kulu, Bara Bangahal and Barhmor, and to the west by Chamba-Lahul. All these non-Kashmiri areas were formerly part of the Punjab (Chamba was one of its princely states), but have now all been included in the new State of Himachal Pradesh.

The entire region is a high altitude one, the ranges north and south rising to a mean elevation of 18,000 feet; the lowest point is the Rothang pass in the mid-Himalayan range, and the highest peaks are well over 21,000 feet. The Chandra-Bhaga river, later to became the Chenab, does not flow below 9,000 feet at its exit from Lahul into Chamba. Kyelang is approximately at a height of 10,000 feet.

In consequence of the altitude the climate is a cold one. The mean annual temperature in the capital is only 43.3° F. with the coldest average temperature in February (23.° F.) and the highest in July-August (61.7° F.). The rainfall is scanty, reaching only six inches during the monsoon season in India from June to September. There is more rain in the winter months due to storms of high elevation; these bring the annual rainfall at Kyelang up to 23.08 inches for the whole year. For this reason agriculture has to make use of irrigation, but as there is plenty of perennial water from glaciers and from melting snow, this is rather an advantage to cultivation.

The scenery of Lahul is one of grandeur and it is impossible not to be impressed by the towering, snow-capped peaks, the bleak upper slopes of the mountains, the green pastures dotted with flocks of sheep in the summer, the poplar groves lower down fringing the flat, terraced fields of both food and cash crops, and the small villages of closely packed houses, flat-roofed and of an earthen colour, already very like the typical architecture of Tibet. This is the scene which meets the eye when the traveller is following the river bank in one of the valleys. When these are left behind, and the colder air starts blowing down from the heights, the vegetation becomes rare, and very soon ice and snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

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4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country.

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants.

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size.

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields

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exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

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Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 427 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 [134] [231] Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, fe[illegible]em, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

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595 614 587 847 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [789] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 789 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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moisture-bearing air and even cloud-carrying wind to come through; here occur a greater number of slight showers during the summer than in the other valleys of Ladākh; but the difference is slight as compared with the great difference between the two sides of the Pass, and is most chiefly shown in winter, when the snow lies thicker in Drās than it does farther to the east.

The passage from Bāltal to Drās, a distance of 30 miles, generally done in two long days, is, in the summer, from June onwards, a not difficult road as things go in this country; it can be passed without difficulty by horses; nor does the first fall of snow (which may happen in the end of October or in November) commonly shut the road for them; but later on, usually by some time in December, the snow has become so thick that for horses to attempt the passage is rash, and only men so hardy and persevering as some of the tribes who live about Drās, or else those who get their aid, as I have done—aid that well deserves acknowledgment and thankfulness—can hope to get over in safety. Thus—although in the winter the Drās people, by watching their opportunity and waiting for some days when necessary, will keep up communication between Kashmir and Ladākh, and even carry merchandise over on their backs—the road is not thoroughly open again, ponies cannot attempt it, till the end of May.

The first village that we come to on the eastern side of the Pass, the highest in the valley, is Matāyan, which is 16 miles short of Drās; the next is Pān Drās,* five or six miles farther on; in the more open valley of Drās itself we find numerous hamlets scattered about.

Here, as in all the countries on this side of the main range, there is nothing grown without irrigation; at Drās, barley, and the variety of it called grim, are the grains mostly cultivated, for these can ripen in the time that the short summer allows. The villages

* Without attempting myself to give a derivation of the word "Pān" in the name of this village, I must protest against the connecting of it with the Persian word *Pāīn*, lower. It will be enough if I point out that Pān Drās is higher up the valley and at a higher absolute level than Drās.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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we do not in our route to Leh follow it so far, but turn round a corner to the right, and take to the valley of the Surū River (one of about equal volume with that from Drās), passing here round a rock that the road has very imperfectly been cut in, so that in places the roadway has had to be constructed of poles lodged in projections of the cliff; these are loosely covered with slabs. In a few miles after this we come to the collection of villages which bear the name of Kargil.

At Kargil is another of the wider openings between the hills; up to this spot the granitic hills had continued—bare, rocky, and lofty; but now on the east there appear lower hills of a softer material, alternating beds of clay and sandstone. Between the Pāskim stream and the Surū River is an alluvial expanse of some square miles, a succession of terraces of alluvial gravel. These plains are uncultivated; hitherto the work necessary for bringing the water of the Pāskim stream on to the lower wide terrace, though once or twice commenced, has not been successfully accomplished; but narrow strips not very high above the two streams are watered by small canals led from them.

The villages here are about 8900 feet above the sea; partly from this somewhat less altitude as compared with Drās, and partly from the place being less in the way of the comparatively moist air that steals into this country through the Drās Pass, there is both less snow in winter and a greater force of sun and warmth in summer to help on vegetation. Here wheat flourishes as well as barley; but the great difference to be observed was the growth of many fruit-trees (chiefly mulberry and apricot), as well as willows and poplars, along the watercourses that are led over the terraced fields. Such villages as we now see are narrow strips of ground, artificially banked and levelled into still narrower terrace-fields, and backed by great rocks that with a favourable aspect reflect the heat and act almost like the walls of our fruit-gardens. They are richly carpeted with heavy-eared crops and crowded with fruit-trees, the bright greenness of whose leaves delights the eye of the traveller, who for many miles has wearied under the sameness of gazing at nothing but rock and loosened stones, and the shade

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

of whose boughs, as, after the glare that one is exposed to on a summer day's march among these bare mountains, one lies by the stream that ripples beneath them, is itself a reward for the exposure and toil.

KARGIL TO KHALSI: FOUR MARCHES.

It will take us four marches to reach the valley of the Indus; for though at Kargil we are only 12 or 13 miles away from that river, yet the more favourable course is to avoid it for a few days' journey still, to keep in the valleys of certain tributary streams whose direction lies well in the line of our road. The ground we shall go through is occupied by the ramifications of a great range of mountains that lies between the main chain on the south-west and the Indus River on the north-east. This range is irregular both in course and height; from some directions it is to be traversed only by very high Passes, but, as we are going, we shall cross two ridges that belong to it by comparatively low gaps quite easy to surmount.

From Kargil we first go over the stony alluvial plain, which is bare of vegetation, and then, after five miles, descend to the village of Pāskim, a large village watered by cuts from the stream called Wakha; these watercourses are bordered by many willows and some tall poplar-trees. Nearly a thousand feet above the village, on the edge of a cliff, are some remains of a fort that used to be held by a Rajah tributary to Ladākh; an account of the taking of this place by the Dogrās is given in General Cunningham's book. The valley now narrows, and for 12 miles the road takes us up between dark rocky hills whose near slopes, those within sight, are not lofty. The halting-place is Shargol, 20 miles from Kargil. A more even division of the distance would have been to make Pāskim the stage instead of Kargil, but this latter is the more usual rest-place, as it is now the head-quarters of the district, and besides it is often convenient to make marches of different lengths, for a quite short one will give the camp a long leisure for rest, or for repairs, or other business.

Shargol is the first village where there is a Buddhist monas-

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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491 plan of crossing the stream three times, by wooden bridges, we
433* pass the difficulties and find our way to the valley of the Indus itself, and, after another mile or two and after crossing the river, to the village and halting-place of Khalsi.

KHALSI TO LEH: FOUR MARCHES.

491 The Indus is spanned by a wooden bridge where rocks narrow
712 it up to a width of 60 or 70 feet only. The bridge is com-
361 manded by a small fort on the higher bank; the path from the
241 bridge, indeed, is led along the covered way half round the fort. The village of Khalsi is on a plateau about 250 feet above the river; there is here a long strip of cultivated land watered from a side-stream; crops and fruit-trees grow on it well, and even luxuriantly; walnuts and apricots ripen, though the height above the sea is something over 10,000 feet.

133* From this place upwards, to near Leh, the Indus Valley has one character. The river flows either between rocks or against alluvial cliffs, according to whether the mountain spurs reach the water or strips of alluvium-terrace intervene. The hills that are
[361] seen are not very lofty; all are bare and extremely dry. The
[241] only green visible is on those spots where the streams from the mountains on the north-east are brought on to the alluvial plateaus and enable the ground to be tilled; there villages have been formed, and we see the verdure of corn-fields and of orchards, or rather of the lines of fruit-trees that have been planted along the watercourses that skirt the little fields.

487 For the next three days' journey there are two routes that may be taken; they unite again one march short of Leh. The first is along the valley, keeping as near to the river as the ground will allow; the other is a higher route along a series of plateaus behind the former; it is this latter that we choose; the valley itself will be again spoken of in a later chapter.

133* After continuing for a few miles in the immediate Indus Valley,
361 we turn up a ravine to the left, and, rising some 1500 feet, we get on to a high plain between an outer, low, range of hills and the

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmīrī half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhīs are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. 463 565 241 651

The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. [428]

The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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565 241 651 that burden which they are able to make some profit out of by employing labourers.

The grain which is most prolific and which is grown to the 241 greatest extent is grim, or loose-grained barley, and it is the meal of this grain that the Ladākhīs mostly eat. Grim is a hardy plant; it is cultivated even at the height of 15,000 feet; this height indeed is exceptional; there is only one place at that altitude where it grows, about twelve acres being there sown with it; but at 13,700 and 14,000 feet there are villages dependent on its cultivation. At lower levels, besides the grim, [438] wheat is grown. But little of this is consumed by the Ladākhīs themselves; they grow it for the market, for the use of the people of the town and of the travelling merchants. Wheat does well up to 11,500 feet; it is cultivated, but with less success, even at 12,800 feet. Peas, and barley (of the kind common in other countries) are crops that grow at almost as great heights as any. This barley is given to horses. In the lower parts of Ladākh—from 10,500 or 10,000 feet downwards—two crops can be got off the same land. I think that barley or grim is, commonly, the first and millet the second crop. Rice does not grow in Ladākh. Maize has been tried in a garden without much success; the ears of it which I saw were only four inches long.

Every crop, as has been said, requires irrigation for its growth; several times has the land to be watered to bring on the plant. In the middle of Ladākh, if there be a sufficient supply of water, the crop is secure; there sunshine never fails for the ripening of it. In Zānskār, however, which is near the most snowy range, and in some of the very high parts, there is sometimes a failure of the sun-warmth necessary to ripen the grain.

[231] Ploughing is done chiefly with the hybrid of the yāk bull and the common cow; this they call *zo* if male and *zomo* if female. The yāk itself is not good for the plough.* The corn is sometimes reaped with a sickle, sometimes pulled up by the roots from the loose soil.

492 * The yāk, however, is very useful for carrying burdens. The Ladākhīs earn a good deal as carriers of merchants' goods with their yāks, their zos, and their ponies.

1. Drew G-3 (1862-1872)1875 AV: Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

from the ground, while the pent-up air itself becomes hot and gives no relief. But after a toilsome drag for some miles over this waste of heated rocks, he reaches one of the little villages that are made at the mouths of side ravines, if haply there can be found a few acres of flat ground for cultivation. These villages are to the traveller a most welcome and lovely sight; a space covered with crops of a brilliant green overshadowed by luxuriant fruit-trees in the midst of the barest rocks gives a relief equally to the eye, the mind, and the body of the wayfarer.

Garkon is the one of these villages most curious in its situation. It consists of very narrow strips or ledges of flat watered ground, between separate stages of a great river-cliff, so that on one side there is a precipitous fall of ground while on the other vertical cliffs overhanging the narrow fields, which, receiving their radiated heat, quickly ripen the crops; even at night the place does not lose its heat. Water is led over the fields from a ravine that comes from the high mountains. Apple-trees, apricot, mulberry, and the vine are cultivated, in company with the cereals, on the narrow space, and flourish well with the combination of moisture and warmth. In going from Garkon to the next village, called *Dāh*, we have passed from Baltistān into Ladākh. The Baltīs were in former times apt to make raids upon their more peaceable neighbours. Dāh, as the frontier village, protected itself by the agglomeration of its houses together to form a sort of fort; on two sides protection is given by a steep cliff, on two by a wall, with a good tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure. Now that all are under one government, and perfect peace has ensued, the dwellings are scattered; but still in winter time the people from the outlying houses and hamlets join to live within the enclosure, for warmth and for mirth's sake. Within its walls the ground is almost all roofed over, hardly any space is left for alleys, passages from one house to another are led beneath the rooms of a third; the whole is a strange crowding together of hovels. In this part side valleys of various degrees of importance reach down to the Indus; some are mere rocky ravines, others hold hamlets and villages. I visited the *Hanū*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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flourish, and there are generally some one or two buildings of a better character than the ordinary peasant's cottage—as a monastery and a village headman's house—which brighten up the place. A character of the villages here—which those of the rest of Ladākh have not—is the enclosure of the fields with dry thorn hedges; these are necessary for a protection for them from the ponies of the travellers who pass through this country on their way to Yārkand. Another peculiarity is that a large number of the fields are laid in for grass; the letting of the pasture to the travelling merchants being a profitable business.

For equal altitudes the climate of Nubrā is nearly the same as that of Central Ladākh, except that probably the winter snowfall is, as regards the valley, somewhat less. Between each fall of snow so much of it disappears by evaporation and by the wind drifting it, that, throughout the winter, the cattle, sheep, and goats are able to graze in the low pasture grounds, only at night are they taken in under cover. Some of the villages have mountain pastures, to which the flocks are driven in summer time; but the climate is so dry that these afford but very scanty pasturage. The vegetable products are nearly the same as in Central Ladākh. The naked barley is the most general crop; wheat is grown in nearly all the villages, but not in large quantities, as the people themselves do not consume it. There is a little fruit—apples, walnuts, and apricots; of apricots the sweeter sort ripen only in the Shāyok Valley below the junction of the rivers; in this part also melon and water-melon ripen. Unmārū, a village which has a southern aspect, is the best place for fruit in Nubrā. The people of Nubrā, under the head of Ladākhī, have been described in the last chapter. There is this difference in them when compared with those of the near neighbourhood of Leh, that they are taller and thinner. The difference seems to be due to local circumstances. I could not trace it to any admixture of other blood. The characteristics of high cheek-bones and elongated eye are found in almost all. The customs of the Nubrā people, as far as I know, differ in no respect from those of the people of Central Ladākh.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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CHAPTER XIV.

LADĀKH: THE HIGHER VALLEYS.

RUPSHU — RUPSHU AS INHABITED — RARITY OF THE AIR — SALT LAKE VALLEY — TSOMORĪRĪ — TSO KYĀGHAR — INDUS VALLEY — PĀNGKONG LAKE — CHĀNGCHENMO.

133*

WE now come to that lofty part of Ladākh where the lowest ground touched is as much as 13,500 feet above the sea, where there are long flat valleys at 15,000 feet, while the mountains that include these keep to the same height of 20,000 and 21,000 feet, which we have seen to be so general over a great part of the country.

RUPSHU.

The first that shall be described of these high tracts is that called Rupshu or Rukshu. It is a district at the south-east end of Ladākh, lying between the Watershed Range and the Indus. From the side of Leh it is approached by leaving the Indus at Upshi and following up the narrow ravine which there joins in from the south. In this, for many miles, the road continues gradually rising; it is a good road for this country, having now been made fit for the passage of camels in case the owners of any from Yārkand should bring them this way towards the Panjāb. The ravine is narrow; it is immediately bounded by no lofty mountains, but by bare slopes of earth and rock, composed of shale and sandstone. After 13 or 14 miles we come to Gyā, the last village in this direction, a place elevated 13,500 feet above the sea; it is a village of some forty houses, with a proportionately wide area of cultivation; both at Gyā and at an outlying hamlet, which is some 300 feet higher still, naked barley ripens and nothing else; peas are grown, but only for green food. It is one of the most, but not quite the most, elevated of all the villages in the country. At this place we leave houses behind, for at the next inhabited parts we shall come to, tents are the only dwellings.

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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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rise above 20,000 feet originate glaciers; there are small ones in the hollows of several such peaks; but there is no great snowy area. The surface of the hills is chiefly disintegrated rock, and the surface of the valleys is earth or gravel. Vegetation is extremely scant; here and there is some green by a spring or along the moistened bank of a stream, and on some hill-sides is a thin herbage. It is this herbage that is the support of the flocks and herds which sustain the small population of Rupshu. Cultivation is carried on in two places only, and to a very small extent; it is on their flocks that the people depend.

In the whole area of the district, which is about 4000 square miles in extent, there are but 500 souls.* These, as will have been understood, are Chāmpās; they are dwellers in tents, or, as the Persian phrase has it, "wearers of tents."† This small tribe, the Rupshu Chāmpās, have about 100 tents, one to a family; they are divided into two camps, which separate in summer, and frequent distinct pastures, but reunite in winter. They make about four moves during the year, with, I think, much regularity, though the time of these must vary if the season be unusually late or early; thus their stay at each encamping-ground is nearly three months on the average. The tents are of a black hair-cloth, made from either yāks' or goats' hair. They are of a peculiar form; they are constructed in two pieces, which are not closely united, but put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top; this allows the exit of smoke, while the fall of rain or snow is so small as to cause little inconvenience, or the space may be temporarily covered with a piece of carpeting. The space within the tents is enlarged by the hair-cloth being pulled out here and there by extra ropes, which are led over a forked stick and then pegged down. The tent is ornamented with little flags and with yāks' tails fastened to the poles. I have no measurement, but from memory should say that the tents are about 14 feet long, 10 feet wide, and nearly 6 feet high. In one of these lives a whole family.

* These people practise polyandry as the Ladākhīs do; to this we must directly attribute their small numbers. The necessity felt for polyandry arose from the number of sheep, goats, &c., being limited by the winter feed.

† *Khīma-posh.*

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

The summer encampment is not close to Karzok, but it is made two or three miles up the side valley; at that distance up the ravine widens out, and on a stony expanse, through which a stream flowed watering a narrow green strip, were about fifty black tents of the Chāmpās, and a few white ones of merchants from Kulū, who had come to trade with them; this was the encampment of that half of the Rupshu tribe which keeps to the south-eastern pastures. The flocks were spread over the hills, seeking for the scarce herbage.

Karzok is one of the two or three places in Rupshu where there is cultivation; here some 12 acres are sown with naked barley. Close upon 15,000 feet, it is the highest cultivation that I know of. When I was there the crop was thriving, but in some years it fails of ripening. The land is irrigated from the stream of the side valley, that which made the delta before spoken of, which is one of the chief affluents to the lake.

The climate of this part is thoroughly Tibetan. Snow falls in winter, but not to a great depth. In summer the air is usually clear and cloudless. The year I was at Tsomorīrī, however, 1871, was an exceptional one all over Ladākh, and rain fell in showers such as had seldom been seen, accompanied by thunder. In these storms we saw the mountains in colours different from those native ones which the glaring sun had brought out so strongly. Before, the lofty hills, except where whitened by a capping of snow, had shown nothing but rocks and stony or earthy slopes of brown and grey, the distant ones seeming close from the rarity and clearness of the air. But now, with the clouds overhead and the storms filling the valley, the recesses of the purpled mountains seemed more distant; yet we saw deeper and deeper into them as the various shades showed out the successive spurs and ridges, and the water of the lake formed a bright belt in front of the richly-tinted hills.

TSO KYAGHAR.

North of Karzok a high ridge of mountains edges Tsomorīrī on the west, having high cliffs in its upper part and sloping more

1: Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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361 Now after passing over several miles of these stony tracts, we come to where there are two or three small villages, which are the highest in the Indus Valley. This bit of the valley is properly out of Rupshu, still it is traversed by the Chāmpās in going from one part of their district to another. The villages are three. On the left bank is Nidar, in a ravine that comes down from the south; it has three houses only. On the right bank are Nimū, of twelve houses, and Mad, of ten. Nimū is about 14,000 feet above the sea; it shows a tract of bright green at the edge of a great stony expanse; naked barley and peas are sown here, but only the former ripens. Of trees there are a few large willows of great age. I have two or three times noticed that in the villages near the upper limit of trees, where few grow, there are some of more than usual size; this probably is from more respect being paid to, more care taken of them; there is also a newly-made plantation of willows. At Nimū little snow falls, and what comes does not stay long on the plain; in winter the cattle and the flocks graze on the plain by the river, but are brought under cover at night. The people of Nimū are not Chāmpās, but are nearer the Ladākhīs both in look and language; they are, however, to some extent nomadic, since some of them take their flocks to other pastures in winter and live in tents while tending them. The village of Mad is in the next ravine to the east.

Leaving these last villages we follow up the valley of the Indus. It has widened to a plain, some four miles across, sandy at the outer portions, but covered with pasture about where the river flows through it. There are some small isolated rocky hills projecting up in the plain. This extends to where the river makes a sudden bend to the north-east.

Here we must pause to look more widely at the physical geography of the neighbourhood.

Cunningham, in his book on Ladākh, speaks of the "Kailas Range" as extending in one unbroken chain from the source of the Indus to the junction of the Shāyok, the name being taken from a peak on it near Mānsarāwar Lake (which is far to the south-east of the country we are dealing with), and he calls the great ridge behind Leh, between the Indus and the Shāyok, by

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AVE~~
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die, and I have no reason to disbelieve this. One of the difficulties is that there is practically no rainfall in this land either in summer or winter. Water comes from the snows, these feed the rivers, but much of the snow simply evaporates at this height; the mountains are arid; among the rocks bushes occasionally grow which carry few leaves on their green twigs, but sufficient to feed the wild goats. The only sign of vegetation is either along the river banks or in the nullahs and protected valleys through which the snow waters flow for a while and which do not take the glare of the sun which pours with great power through the clear air. From above it appears as if a giant flame-thrower has scorched the earth, which in different parts takes on all the colours of a burned brick, and in its destruction has missed those valleys tucked away. All around us were giant chocolate-coloured rock cliffs which hold the snow deep during the winter months, and permit the sun to shine for but a few hours on the small village.

Dras—known by the Tibetans as Hembas—seems to be not one but a number of villages spread over a quite fertile undulating valley which is enclosed within a ring of hills but at a height of ten thousand feet and so placed that the bitter winter winds sweep down on it. When we were there the clumps of willows were green with young leaves and they told us that by by the time we returned the skylarks would have come from Kashmir.

Oddly enough there are a few European-style houses standing in their own gardens, and a rest house of similar design, built with a high pitched roof and tall chimneys, but looking strange, for it was without the verandahs which one has become so used to in India and Kashmir. The sand and dust gets in through all the cracks, in winter it is carried there by the icy blast, yet it must be a comfortable haven to those who are stranded there.

The valley narrows as one goes on past small fields which would appear to have been scratched out from the rock-covered surface of the ground; I can well remember being shown by a proud "farmer"—the father of one of the horsemen who came the whole way with us—a large patch scattered with stones as big as my fist, in which surely not more than a thousand green spears of barley had just come through. Anywhere else the sowing

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A-1
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133 would have been considered a complete failure, but he assured
241 me that all were agreed that he was in for a record crop.

Generally the way is bare and barren, yet with stores in the
491 pony packs and the knowledge that one does not have to live there, it is grand, at times beautiful, in a rugged way; the road leads along the face of a precipice at one time, then changes to sandy banks, next across the only suspension bridge I felt safe in passing over, then ascending—we had until that time come slowly down—and on turning a spur of the mountain, we entered Ladakh, Kargil being the first habitation within its borders.

361 Kargil is quite an extensive place, with villages scattered on either side of the Suru river, and many miles of ground which in the spring is under water from the melting snows, bringing down earth from the mountains, this being made into fields during the summer and autumn.

342 The walls of the low-built houses are made of mud and stones mixed together, the finish is very crude; they look more like cow-sheds than houses. It seemed to be a land of women; they
462 were everywhere, round the houses, in the fields, coming down the hillsides with great bundles of sticks on their heads. It seems that the men leave their womenfolk there whilst they go either up to Leh or down to Srinagar with goods, or else hire themselves out as labourers. The Kargil man is also considered quite a good shikari and is engaged as such by shooting parties.

361 Kargil is the capital of Purik, a province in which most of the
[779] inhabitants are Ladakhis who have become Muslims. Beyond this town the people are Buddhists; their dress, customs and ways are so different from those seen before that there awakens a new interest in the journey.

After first passing over the plateau, we found ourselves entering a long ravine which gradually contracts until one wonders if there is any exit from it, the scenery is even more grand with fantastically shaped crags cut out of the brilliant and gloriously coloured sandstone. There are a few tiny hamlets which cluster round the rare patches of greenery which were like giant raindrops that had fallen on an unsympathetic, barren land of hard rocks and sleeping sands moved there by the winds at their will.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact,
291 but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in
291 felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheepskin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

142 The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight
145 on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once
302 the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

563 The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis
233 proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export
563 product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in
241 agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern
[231] inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered
241 either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir A~~V1~~
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

793 361 reason for the existence of so many monasteries always inhabited and one to each town or village of reasonable size.

134 Ladakh is a land of extreme barrenness. If the population
• 241 were permitted to increase the people would starve, for not only are they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than are already there, but with communications so bad, little can be
595 imported. In order to retain the population at its present level, since they are unable to live for long in other climates after all their lives breathing the rarer air of the mountains, as in Tibet, polyandry has become the custom of the land, and has been so from time immemorial, having proved a powerful check on the population, the greater percentage of which are women.

The system of polyandry is confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and although the usual number of husbands is three, four or even five are not unknown. Occasionally one hears of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their wife, the husbands have to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account can a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate
428 younger brothers in a large one have to suffer. The eldest son inherits the family estate as soon as he marries; it is his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he has to support those brothers who share his wife. This system of inheritance keeps the property intact, for there is never more than one heir and the patrimony is never divided.

428 If there is no son, then the property of the family is inherited
582 by the daughter who is free to marry any man she wishes, even
595 to have an experimental marriage with a younger son—this is done by a State-recognised religious ceremony. And she can divorce him after giving him a small present, say a sheep, if after a few days' trial he does not come up to her expectations. Besides all this she may choose several husbands if she so desires, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dare not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power an heiress has in her hands and how carefully the hus-
586 band has to conduct himself that he is not dismissed. The husband of an heiress is called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, is unable to leave his heiress wife unless he can prove the grossest

Srīvara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting.

Ladākh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladākh or Ladāg. It is now politically a division of the Kashmīr State, lying between the Himālayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistān and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyāl, Nearis, Māryul.

Ladākh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladākh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north is Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yārkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladākh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zāskār, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges. Physical aspects.

The flora of Ladākh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility. Botany.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Panthalops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni*, *O. nigrei*, and *O. nahura*) are found; and Fauna.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

[795]

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Christian missions. 797

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture. 241

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [87?] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

of 45,762 square miles and a population of 192,138 persons it will at once appear that the Ladakh tehsil though possessing the greatest area supports the smallest number of people. Its density is, one per square mile, the lowest figure in the whole State. Kargil and Skardu, however, with their respective densities of 9 and 13 present a better record the latter supporting 107,477 persons. All the three tehsils of the districts show a plus variation ranging between 4 and 5 per cent. which bear a happy contrast to the all-round decrease registered by these tehsils at the 1921 Census.

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Of the total area of the Ladakh district only ·28 per cent. is cultivable which in plain language means that out of a total area of 45,762 square miles only 129 square miles are cultivable. Again out of ·28 per cent. cultivable area 91·7 per cent. is net cultivated and there are very little prospects of agricultural expansion in this district.

WT 241

The normal rainfall is 6·7" only. The entire gross cultivated area has to depend upon irrigation for growing crops. Rice, Bajra, maize are conspicuous by their absence, wheat only occupies an inferior position having under it 17·5 per cent. of the cultivable area, 47 per cent. being under other food-crops including pulses of which giram is the chief staple.

50. Gilgit District.—The district consists of only one tehsil (Gilgit) with an area of 3,118 square miles and a population of 31,902 persons which gives a resultant density of 10 persons to a square mile. The increase at the present Census comes to 11·13 per cent. which compares well with other districts.

D 161

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Gilgit District ..	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....
1. Gilgit Tehsil	31,902	10	+ 11·13	+ 19·8	....

Of the total area ·8 per cent. is cultivable out of which 81·8 is net cultivated, the balance still available for being brought under crops being about 18 per cent. The normal rainfall being very low *i. e.*, 4·77" the entire agriculture depends upon irrigation which has received good attention from the Government during the present decade as has already been shown under paragraphs dealing with irrigational improvements. To counteract Nature's frugality in the matter of rainfall human effort has shown itself at its best in providing irrigational facilities as is reflected by the fact that 99·9 per cent. of the gross cultivated area is irrigated which conclusively proves that natural rainfall by itself would not help even an acre to produce crops.

D 241

Here 35·6 per cent. of the area is under wheat, 9·7 per cent. under barley, 36·7 per cent. under other food-crops including pulses while 23·4 per cent. is taken up by miscellaneous crops. The supply for the military garrisons located at Gilgit is provided through a special "Supply and Transport Department".

51. Frontier Illaqas.—With an area of 14,680 square miles and a population of 64,544 persons the Frontier Illaqas show an increase of 5·82 per cent. over the last Census and the variation in each of the constituent units is shown by the marginal table.

D 161
B 161

Name of District or Illaqa.	Population 1921.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.	
				1921-1931.	1911-1921.
1. Hunza ..	12,117	12,241	3	+ 9·27	+ 19·7
2. Nagar ..	14,188	13,673	9	− 3·63	+ 0·3
3. Punial ..	5,466	6,109	4	+ 11·21	+ 24·2
4. Yasin ..	7,063	8,083	7	+ 14·4	+ 11·9
5. Kuh ..	2,546	2,888	6	+ 23·7	+ 10·9
6. Ghizar ..	3,953	4,112	3	+ 4·02	+ 8·6
7. Ishkoman ..	2,753	2,966	2	+ 7·48	+ 26·3
8. Chilas ..	13,135	13,534	5	+ 3·03	+ 8·01